DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 307 194 SO 019 897

AUTHOR Watts, W. David; And Others
TITLE Patterns of Social Fragmentation and Cohesion: The Social Context of 21st Century Education for Citizenship.
PUB DATE Oct 88
NOTE 59p.; Paper presented at the National Conference on the Future of Civic Education (Washington, DC, October 5-7, 1988). For related documents, see ED 302 474, SO 019 887, and SO 019 895-896.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Citizenship Education; *Civics; Community; Community Involvement; Cultural Awareness; *Cultural Pluralism; Demography; Drug Abuse; Economics; Elementary Secondary Education; Ethnicity; Futures (of Society); Global Approach; Individualism; *Relevance (Education); *Social Change; Social Values; Sociocultural Patterns; *Sociology

ABSTRACT

The future of civic education in the United States must be examined within the changing social context of the structure of U.S. society and the directions toward which that society is moving. The underlying, shared dimensions of the theoretical analysis of society must be examined to understand that context and discover those directions of change. The institutional elements of the social infrastructure which are examined include education, economy, and demography. The implications of certain social processes such as community, ethnicity, and social deviance, specifically drugs, and value systems, such as individualism, are also analyzed. Economic and demographic shifts reinforce the need for global awareness. Cultural differences become more, not less, apparent in a shrinking world, engendering a need for cultural pluralism. Civic education of the 21st century should instill a knowledge and an acceptance of those cultural variations. It should also help to rebuild the lost sense of community by developing opportunities to experience social involvement and community participation. The establishment of a sociological context for the future of civic education shows that: (1) sociological concepts can serve as interpretive guideposts in understanding the social world; (2) if these sociological concepts are to be understood and incorporated into civic education, teachers must be well versed in their meaning; and (3) when the sociological perspective makes private issues (such as drug abuse and divorce) public, the student learns that these difficulties need not be faced alone. A 29-item bibliography and 75-item reference list are included. (PPB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED307194

Patterns of Social Fragmentation and Cohesion: The Social Context of 21st Century Education for Citizenship

prepared for

Citizenship for the 21st Century:

A National Conference on the Future of Civic Education

Washington, D.C.

October 5-7, 1988

SO019897

W. David Watts

Donald T. Matlock Alvin P. Short

Southwest Texas State University
San Marcos, Texas

The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance of Linda Cox in preparation of the references and bibliography and Susan B. Thompson for her clerical support.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Donald T. Matlock

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In order to describe social system content for civic education in the 21st century, it is necessary to address two questions. What is the structure of American society and in what directions is the society moving? Like all sciences, sociology has developed theoretical frameworks to describe, analyze and explain social data.

Underlying the more widely used theoretical frameworks or sociology are shared dimensions of analysis: the relationship between order and disorder at all levels; social continuity and change; the individual in relation to the group, institution and society; the process of creation and maintenance of culture and the symbolic order; and the structure of social relationships. This paper uses the underlying, shared dimensions of theoretical analysis to develop the social context for civic education in the 21st century. The institutional elements of the social infrastructure, including economy, demography, education, and the family are examined. The implications of certain social processes, such as community, ethnicity, and social deviance, specifically drugs, are discussed, as well as value systems, such as individualism, which pertain to citizenship and civic education in the 21st century.

Today and in the 21st century, citizens will need to be informed of the global as well as national, state, and local political environments that we share. Economic and demographic shifts, such as the continued natural increase of population in the developing countries, the continued flow of migration into

the U.S. and the low rate of natural increase in this country, reinforce the need for global awareness. Economically, the U.S. is highly dependent on other nations and societies for the effective functioning of our society. The prospect of nuclear conflict alone offers a powerful incentive to broaden the scope of civic education.

We live in a world that is shrinking due to faster, more available communication and transportation. Under these conditions, cultural differences become more, not less, apparent, and engenders a need for cultural pluralism. Pluralism implies an acceptance of difference, within or outside our own society. Civic education should instill in the citizens of the 21st century not only an awareness of the diversity which exists on our planet but an acceptance of those variations.

The civics course also offers the opportunity to rebuild in our citizens a sense of community which many feel we have lost. Some scholars argue for changes in American education to incorporate community service as an integral part of the curriculum. A program of community service activity would offer the youth of our country an opportunity to experience an involvement and participation in their society which many feel is lacking today.

There are three implications of sociological knowledge for civic education that should be addressed. First, sociological concepts can serve as interpretative guideposts for both laypersons and professionals in making sense of the social world. Additionally, secondary teachers must be well trained in the

meaning of sociological concepts if those elements are to be incorporated into civic education. Finally, there is the subtle but powerful function of the sociological perspective: making private troubles public issues. When the educational system examines what are essentially private problems, from divorce to drug abuse, from discrimination to loneliness, the individual student learns that these difficulties need not be faced alone. They become not just personal problems but community problems. If students learn nothing else, they learn that they are not alone.

In 1977, Howard D. Mehlinger, writing on the "Crisis in Civic Education" for the report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education stated:

> The overarching purpose of civic education is to provide youth with the knowledge, values, and skills they require in order to function effectively as responsible adult citizens. A successful civic education program must be linked to the kinds of experiences students are likely to encounter upon leaving school. To the extent that civic education prepares students for conditions that no longer prevail or avoids informing students of the true state of affairs, it fails in its mission. (Education for Responsible Citizenship, 1977, p. 69).

The mission at hand, to describe social system content for civic education in the 21st century, reflects the type of problem discussed by Mehlinger. What is the structure of American society and in what directions is the society moving? What are the implications of these changes for civic education in the 21st century?

A number of sociologists and others have attempted to assess the current directions of American society. From literary, philosophical, and social science backgrounds, current thinkers have addressed the state of American society and education (Toeffler, 1981; Naisbitt, 1982; Etzioni, 1983a; Bellah, 1985; Hirsch, 1988; Bloom, 1987). These diverse writers and scholars share a deep and thoughtful concern about the current state and directions of change in American society. Sociological concepts and findings form part of the background for analysis and prediction of themes that will frame the context for civic education in the 21st century.

SOCIOLOGY: THEORETICAL CONCEPTS AND DIMENSIONS

Sociologists use a wide variety of concepts in the analysis of social behavior. Culture, a concept shared with other social sciences, is typically seen as a blueprint for belief and action in a given society, composed of material objects and normative patterns that reflect value systems. Sociologists see institutions as those irreducible functions in society that must be performed for the maintenance of a modern social system. These institutions include the family, the polity, the educational system, religion, and economics. An institution is comprised of all the primary and secondary groups and organizations, along with cultural prescriptions, that are devoted to these specific functions. The group, however, is the main unit of analysis for sociologists examining primary associations in families and formalistic associations in secondary organizations. All of these institutions together, in a state of interaction and change, can be thought of as a social system or society.

Individuals perform roles within institutions. Within roles, people follow norms in conformity with values that provide direction and purpose. People, of course, occupy a range of social positions (statuses) within a wide variety of institutions. At different points in the course of daily life and over the lifespan, different institutions and the role expectations associated with them, affect individuals. Who and what we are is to a very large extent explained by the statuses we occupy and the roles we play.

Within societies, communities can flourish or deteriorate into mass society. Tonnies (1983) and others have explored the transition from rural, tightly knit communities (gemeinschaft) to urban secondary relationships (gesellschaft). It is believed that industrial, urban regions have produced a high degree of alienation and detachment from society, which are reflected in the concerns of Americans who believe they are ignored by governments and the institutional representatives of society.

The term community is used by sociologists to mean a set of interrelated institutions in a specific geographic boundary, a place as well as a socio-psychological concept (Park, 1925). Other uses of the term imply a sense of connectedness, obligation, and reference for the individual actor. In this context, community means viable membership in primary groups and various voluntary and interest groups for actors in larger urban settings. In both senses, community implies the idea of civic responsibility and participation and is critical to our analysis. Community varies in the degree of interconnectedness for individuals in socirty as well as the sense of geographic centeredness individuals experience. This has important implications for civic education in the 21st century.

Like all sciences, sociology has developed theoretical frameworks to describe, analyze and explain social data. The most widely shared theoretical perspective, which permeates much of the discipline's research and analysis and underlies this paper, is structural functionalism. Functionalism examines what elements and processes must exist for society to survive

(functional prerequisites), how different institutions function to meet requisites, how roles are structured and rewarded, and how social processes, such as socialization, contribute or detract from the maintenance of the system. Conflict theory, symbolic interactionism, exchange theory, and ethnomethodology also are widely discussed and applied theoretical frames of reference. Underlying the varieties of sociological theory are shared dimensions of analysis: the relationship between order and disorder at all levels; social continuity and change; the individual in relation to the group, institution and society; the process of creation and maintenance of culture and the symbolic order; and the structure of social relationships. While each theoretical approach offers a rich and unique analytic structure, this discussion will not explicate these perspectives or apply any one. Instead, the underlying, shared dimensions of analysis will be used to develop the social context for civic education in the 21st century. (For more specific applications of sociological theory to social studies and civics education, see Eshleman, 1986).

This paper will examine the institutional elements of the social infrastructure, including economy, demography, education, and the family. The implications of certain social processes, such as community, ethnicity, and social deviance, specifically drugs, will be examined, as well as value systems, such as individualism, which pertain to citizenship and civic education in the 21st century.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF CIVIC EDUCATION

DEMOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

Resources establish the framework within which social change and social structure occurs. Population trends are important social resources that shape the contours, directions and context of social change. Population dynamics, such as fertility, mortality and migration, are fundamental processes affecting the composition of the population. Population size affects and is affected by the natural environment, a relationship that is international in scope. Civic education now and in the 21st century must be cognizant of population dynamics and composition and emphasize the interdependent and global quality of social life.

Population Dynamics

In order by size of population, the largest countries in the world are China, India, the Soviet Union and the United States (Haub and Kent, 1988). Although this in itself may sound impressive, the U.S. represents only about five percent of the total world population. The United States is also one of the fastest growing developed nations of the world (Population Reference Bureau, 1986a); however, the vast majority of the world population is found in the even more rapidly growing developing nations. An understanding of the relative position of this country during the 21st century requires that informed citizens have a grasp of the fundamentals of population dynamics (Reischauer, 1973). The population growth of any country is dictated by three basic elements, fertility, mortality and

migration. The demographic history of the United States has been one of rapid growth; however, prevailing trends in fertility, mortality and migration predict a relatively stable population throughout the next century.

Fertility

Despite the widely discussed upturn in the birth rate for approximately a decade after World War II, commonly called the "baby boom", most of the history of U.S. fertility has been one of decline. The long term drop in U.S. birth rate is tied largely to cultural and economic changes which have taken place in this country over the last 200 years. The movement away from an agriculture economy and rural living, toward industrial and service occupations in an urban environment, coupled with changing norms about the ideal size of a family, has operated to produce a steady decline in U.S. fertility.

Mortality

During the same period of time, U.S. mortality has also declined. Improvements in public health and sanitation procedures, improvements in diet, and more recently, developments in medicine have combined to lower the death rate. Unlike fertility, the decline in mortality is not closely tied to changes in norms about death. In general, the culture of the United States, like that of most human societies, has supported a reduction in the death rate. Most of the apparent causes for declining mortality, therefore, are technological rather than cultural.

Natural Increase

Historically, most of the growth of the U.S. population has been a consequence of natural increase, an excess of births over deaths. Although many students find it puzzling that the population could have grown so rapidly in the face of both a declining death rate and a declining birth rate, the explanation lies in the earlier and more rapid decline in the death rate.

Migration

Even though migration has contributed less to the growth of the U.S. population than natural increase, it has been a factor (Bureau of the Census, 1975). At least since the first U.S. census in 1790 immigration (in-coming migration) has exceeded emigration (out-going migration). U.S. immigration policy has varied over time. During the first century after the American Revolution federal law gave only passing notice to immigration (Population Reference Bureau, 1986a). It was only after the peak period of immigration at the beginning of this century, when the source of immigrants had shifted from northern and western Europe to southern and eastern Europe, that significant legal limitations were established (Bouvier and Gardner, 1986).

The Immigration Act of 1929 established a quota system based on the ethnic composition of the U.S. as of 1890. These quotas permitted only about 154,000 immigrants per year, compared to the 600,000 to 800,000 per year who had been arriving around the turn of the century. Given the ethnic composition of the United States as of 1890, the new quota system severely limited

immigration from countries outside northern and western Europe (Archdeacon, 1983).

In recent years restrictions on immigration have eased somewhat and moved away from quotas based on national origin. As a consequence the source of immigrants to the United States has shifted so that the majority come not from Europe but from Asia and Latin America.

Today legal immigration into the United States averages about 600,000 persons per year (Bouvier and Gardner, 1986), or about one-fourth of the current population growth. Estimates of illegal immigration vary from 200,000 to 500,000 annually (Population Reference Bureau, 1986a). If these figures are included, about one-third of our population growth can be attributed to net migration. The change from growth through natural increase, toward growth through migration is not so much a consequence of increased immigration as it is a reduction of the difference between the birth rate and the death rate.

Population Composition

Age Distribution

With the relatively low birth and death rates prevalent today, the average age of the U.S. population has steadily increased so that today over half the citizens of the United States are over 30. By far the most dramatic change in the age composition of the population is the rapid growth in the percentage of people over 65. This increase in the number of elderly persons has placed a strain on health care facilities and the Social Security System. Of particular importance is the

ratio of wage earners contributing supporting the Social Security System to retirees who draw from existing reserves. The oldest products of the "baby boom" are in their mid forties. Early in the 21st century they will begin to retire, placing an increased strain on the Social Security System.

Labor Force

The most significant change in the U.S. labor force can be found in the increased participation of women (Population Reference Bureau, 1986a). Although women first begin to enter the labor force as early as the beginning of this century, the pattern has changed over time. At first a woman might get a job, but work only until she married. As it became more socially acceptable for married women to work outside the home, a woman might continue to work until the birth of her first child. Eventually it became more common for a woman to return to the labor force after the youngest child left home. Later employment was interrupted only between the birth of the first child and in entry of the youngest child into the school system. Today a woman goes to work and continues to work, through marriage, motherhood on into retirement.

Not only have women become a major component of the work force, but they have become increasingly present in traditionally male dominated occupations. Employment opportunities are by no means equal, however. Traditional sex roles still predominate in many areas and income inequities between males and females have become a major social issue.

Several other patterns are related to the participation of women in the labor force, including the postponement of marriage, the reduction in the size of families and the postponement of childbearing. Gainfully employed, career oriented women may find the traditional roles of wife and mother less attractive than did their predecessors. The decision to have a child is a major economic, as well as personal decision today. Working parents of both sexes have discovered that day care facilities have not grown to accommodate the increased need.

It could also be argued that another significant social phenomenon, divorce, is related to the increased participation of women in the labor force. Although the divorce rate has fluctuated somewhat, it has increased dramatically over the last twenty years. Not only is the divorce rate for this period of time higher than ever before, but it is perhaps the highest in the world.

The pattern of domestic change accompanying the increased participation of women in the labor force may be a major contributing factor to the increased divorce rate. Many American males today assume that working women are just another part of our contemporary society. Many American males also assume, however, that women who work outside the home will continue to perform domestic chores in the home. Women in the labor force have discovered that there is only so much time and energy to distribute among the roles of wife, mother and employee. Women with employment responsibilities equal to those of their husbands may rightly expect their husbands to assume domestic

responsibilities equal to their own. Such contradictory expectations can only contribute to friction between husband and wife. An additional component in the equation can be found in the increased economic independence that wives have from their husbands.

Population Shift and Environmental Impact

While agriculture has long since ceased to be the major economic activity of the U.S. labor force, agriculture does remain a major U.S. industry. Since the 1940's the United States has been a major producer exporter of grain (Population Reference Bureau, 1986a). In recent years, however, the international competition has increased, while domestic surpluses have caused prices to drop. The difficulty of competing in what has become a large scale international business, driven by forces beyond the control of the individual, has driven the "family farmer" from the farm.

With only minor fluctuations, the United States has a long history of transition from rural to urban living. Today over three-fourths of the U.S. population lives in urban areas (Haub and Kent, 1988). During the 20th century the ecological system of the United States has suffered from changing demographic and economic conditions. The transition from agriculture to industrial activities contributed to air and water pollution. Fossil fuel combustion has increased not only from industrialization, but also from the increase in the population size, which in turn means more fuel consumers (Repetto, 1987). Efforts to curb fossil fuel consumption have met with some

success; however, such efforts often produce new problems (Repetto and Holmes, 1983). Nuclear energy offers an alternative to traditional energy sources; however, it also offers new and different threats to the environment in the form of possible nuclear contamination and the problems of nuclear waste disposal.

International Perspective

From the somewhat diverse perspectives of such people as Norman Cousins, Robert S. McNamara and Jimmy Carter (Kidder, 1987) emerges a common theme. We must see the world as a whole. The growth in the U.S. population during the 20th century did not occur in a vacuum and the conditions which prevail in this 21st century will be equally related to the rest of the world.

World Population Growth

The changing demographic conditions in the United States which spanned the last 200 years are actually only an extension of the unprecedented changes which began in other parts of the world around the year 1650. For all recorded history prior to that time, and presumably for all of prehistoric time the pattern of population change was one of steady but very slow growth. During that time both birth and death rates were high but close together. First in western Europe about 1650, and later in selected parts of the world, things begin to change in a pattern commonly called demographic transition. The first evidence of this change is always a decline in the death rate, followed by a somewhat slower decline in the birth rate. As both rates fall they separate creating a greater rate of natural increase and a rapidly growing population. Demographic transition in western

European and similar nations, such as the United States, culminates as the birth and death rates stabilize at low levels.

Those countries which have completed demographic transition are commonly called "developed" nations. The rest of the world or "developing" nations, primarily in Asia, Africa and South America, follow a different pattern. On the whole, developed nations required approximately 300 years to complete demographic transition. During that time they gradually developed the technological changes necessary to lower the death rate and at the same time experienced changes in their norms about family size which were supportive of a reduction in the birth rate.

For the developing nations 1650 is not a significant date, in fact the changes appear at different times in different parts of the world. Initially the pattern appears to be the same. The first thing to change is the death rate; however, when the death rate starts down it drops sharply. Changes that required 300 years in the more traditional developed nations may occur in as little as 20 or 30 years. This is possible because the factors which drive the death rate down are largely technological in nature, such as public health and sanitation measures, medical technology and agricultural techniques. Such technology is easily exported from developed to developing nations.

The birth rate, on the other hand is not as easily influenced by technology. While birth rates have declined in developing nations, the change has generally followed the more gradual pattern which required 300 years of normative change in the developed nations. Culture, in the form of norms about

family size is not as easily exported as technology. Birth control techniques do represent a form of technology, of course. Despite the rather high visibility, and sometimes controversial nature of birth control techniques, however, the birth rate is not easily manipulated through technology. It is one thing to go into a country and tell people, "If you do these things, your babies will not die." The norms of most societies are compatible with keeping babies alive. It is quite another thing, however, to go into a country and say, "Do these things and you won't have babies."

These conditions have produced widely separated birth and death rates, with corresponding high rates of natural increase. Most of the growth in the world population in the latter half of the 20th century has occurred not in developed nations like the United States, but in developing nations. For example, the country of Nicaragua has a birth rate over two and one -half times that of the U.S. birth rate, but the Nicaraguan death rate is lower than that in the United States (Haub and Kent, 1988).

The Demographic Future

The United States will continue to grow, but at a slower and slower rate. Immigration will continue to be more of a factor in this growth, while natural increase will have less and less impact. External pressures for migration to the United States will increase, particularly for immigrants from South and Central America. We have a long history of changing ethnic composition through immigration and the pattern is likely to continue (Bouvier and Gardner, 1986). Predictions about the ethnic

composition of the United States for the 21st century vary with the source; however, there is a common theme. "If current trends continue, in 100 years non-Hispanic whites of European origin may no longer constitute a majority of the American population (Population Reference Bureau, 1986b). The trends in question are patterns of fertility, mortality and migration. Most predictions assume that the difference between fertility and mortality will remain small, meaning little population change from natural increase and an increasing impact from immigration. It is also widely assumed that the greatest gains in population by any ethnic group will be found among Hispanics (Bouvier and Gardner, 1986).

It is apparent that, even in developing nations, the rate of population growth is also slowing. The tide of ever increasing growth rates for the world as a whole is finally turning, perhaps for the first time since human beings first appeared on the planet (Repetto, 1987). This may not be cause for optimism, however. While the rate of growth is diminishing the population size is not. The raw numbers are so massive that even a relatively low rate of growth adds large numbers of people to the worlds population every year.

Currently, there are over 5 billion people in the world (Haub and Kent, 1988). Even the most conservative estimates predict twice that number well before the middle of the 21st century. Most of this growth will, of course, occur outside the United States, but the future citizens of our country will not be immune from its effects. The demand upon the ecological system

of the world will be considerable. While most predictions assume that agricultural technology will be able to respond adequately to most of the increased demand, it is conceivable that shortages and some famine will occur (Hendry, 1988).

The role of the United States in the international economy will change. The demand on natural resources will increase proportionally to the population increase, with particular emphasis on energy resources. Before the world population has doubled oil reserves will once again be in demand, signaling a resurgence of OPEC power (Repetto, 1987).

The greatest impact on U.S. citizens in the 21st century will probably not be ecological or economic, but emotional. The United States will almost certainly not experience widespread food shortages to the point of famine; however, if such conditions do occur on a wholesale basis in developing nations we will become very aware of the relative condition of misery in other parts of the world. If nothing else the national television networks will keep us abreast of developments. The future citizens of this country may well have to deal with the regular and recurrent experience of watching babies dying on the evening news.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, ETHNICITY AND CLASS

While demographic dynamics and composition form the population context for social institutions and social processes, the structure and functioning of such fundamental institutions as economy, education and family are critical to the limits and opportunities that will exist in the 21st century. Although

ethnicity and class are not, strictly speaking, institutions in the sense of economy and family, they are clearly enduring social forms and processes that are woven into the functional fabric of society today and in the 21st century. What are the institutional trends and stratification processes occurring today that are likely to frame the context of civic education in the 21st century?

Economy

During the last half of the 20th century, the United States, like other industrialized nations, has seen a shift away from manufacturing and similar traditional industrial pursuits toward more service oriented and technical occupations (Bureau of the Census, 1985; Naisbitt, 1982). This change has caused trauma to both individuals and whole regions of the country as we have sought to adapt to these changing times.

Other contributors to this conference have more developed outlines of the economic future of the United States in the next fifty to one hundred years. There are certain themes, however, well established in the literature, that portend the directions of economic activity in the 21st century. First, the United States, widely recognized as a post-industrial society, is finding that its industrial processes are being transferred to the Pacific Rim and other developing areas of the world (Madsen, 1980; Bauer, 1981). Second, the U.S. has been a cradle of technological innovation throughout the 20th century, but other countries, particularly Japan (Gusfield, 1972; Greenwald, 1988; Chira, 1988), are taking the technological initiative. As

Naisbitt (1982) and others have pointed out (Alperovitz and Faux, 1984; Toffler, 1984; Singlemann, 1978; Diebold, 1985), American economic productivity rests more on the flow of information and services than on the formation of industrial goods. Work in the U.S. will be less in terms of agriculture, industry, and craft labor, and more in terms of managerial, clerical, idea and product development, as well as lower level service employment (Carey, 1981). Consequently, the economy in the United States, both in the late 20th century and probably in the 21st century, will require both less and more education. A key knowledge element for all citizens in the 21st century will be a minimal shared understanding of the processes, rights, and responsibilities of citizenship and governance.

Whether the United States is successful in reindustrialization, as Etzioni (1983a) proposes, remains uncertain. While some industries in the latter part of the 1980's have experienced rebirth and rejuvenation, others, such as textiles and electronics (Bureau of the Census, 1985), continue in decline. While industrial growth and development has been seen by historians and sociologists as an ambivalent blessing, bringing on the one hand a decline in community and on the other, economic prosperity, the economic future for the country is clearly much more international than ever in the past. As the world moves toward becoming not only an electronic global village (McLuhan, 1967; Reischauer, 1973), but an industrial and marketing village, the web of interdependence expands. This is

another element which civic education of the 21st century must address.

Family

As the 20th century moves to a close, the process of change in the family has taken on the scope of a revolution and accompanying counterrevolution. Within the last twenty years, American society has seen an enormous shift away from what has been thought of as the traditional family. By some estimates, as many as half of all marriages that occurred in the earlier half of this decade will end in divorce (National Center for Health Statistics, 1987). Although there has been some decline in the marriage rate in recent years, Americans still enjoy the institution, marrying at just below record levels (Bureau of the Census, 1985). It is a cliche by now that those who are divorced are among those who are most likely to marry.

Even though we enjoy marriage, the single lifestyle has reached new heights of popularity and respectability (Thornton and Freedman, 1982). Perhaps the somewhat temporary nature of the family and the rise in singlehood is correlated with the declining birth and fertility rate (Bureau of the Census, 1985). Clearly then, the bonds for the family as the most critical social institution are in the process of change, if not actual lessening. As these ties of affiliation are weakened, cultural and structural webs that bind society together as a functioning unit are weakened.

Civic education in the schools of the 21st century may be of greater significance than at any other time in American history,

as larger and larger proportions of children, by some estimates as much as 40% (Bureau of the Census, 1983), grow up in homes that do not contain both natural parents. The extended kinship ties that bind more traditional societies together, while holding in some urban villages, have been less vital in the latter part of the 20th century (Laslett, 1977; Gordon, 1983) and are likely to become weaker as American society continues to move into the post-industrial age. More and more children will not experience the family as a cohesive microcosm of the larger society. Instead the disorder and anomie of the family may be projected onto the larger society, as in the past when the larger society was thought to be coherent and orderly because of the discipline and structure of the family.

Not only is the nation experiencing one of the world's highest rates of divorce and separation, whether or not children are involved, unmarried single mothers are becoming one of the fastest growing family forms, particularly among America's minority groups. For example, among blacks, children born to unmarried mothers now outnumber those born to married women. While the proportions are not as high for hispanics and whites, they too have been increasing rapidly since the sixties (Bureau of the Census, 1985).

Most observers and researchers (Bane, 1976; Berger and Berger, 1983) on the family do not believe that the institution is in danger of dissolution, but they do believe that it is undergoing significant change. Explicating the dynamics that effect family change, whether economic, political, cultural or

gender-based are not critical at this point. An understanding of the likely patterns of family adaptation and the effects that the family will have on individuals and society loom large for the future.

While it is a sociological truism that the family is the most critical agency of socialization, as the family loses some of its socialization function, other institutions, such as the schools, must assume that responsibility. Many writers, including Lasch (1979), have decried the loss of the role and scope for the family. Lasch believes that the family has been progressively stripped of its functions, as other institutions have increased theirs due to industrialization, urbanization and the loss of community in American society. Indeed, efforts by political conservatives in the 1980s have had as one of their primary goals the resurrection of authority and responsibility within the family (Cuber et al., 1975). In search of community and different forms of family strength, evangelical churches have experienced growth and increased visibility as well as expanded roles in the larger society (Fitzgerald, 1986). From liberals (see NASW 1988 Social Agenda) to conservatives (Cuber et al., 1975), reconstruction or strengthening of the family is a priority goal. However, many of the forces that are associated with the family's decline, such as increased communication, social and spatial mobility, suburbanization, changing definitions of gender roles, and the economic necessity of both spouses needing employment, are unlikely to diminish in force in the 21st century. Whether the family declines in effectiveness

because many of its functions are being stripped from it or because it is no longer able to support the breadth of functions that it once had, other institutions must provide or supplement essential activities like socialization.

Education

Like the family, educational institutions socialize youth and immigrants to American culture and society. Increasingly, because of the pace of change in post-industrial, knowledge-based society, education is truly a life-long activity requiring citizens to return to the well again and again for additional socialization. Given that education must assume additional responsibility for primary socialization and increasingly provide access to specialized knowledge, skills and values, education becomes the principle institution for the maintenance of a key prerequisite of society: a common, shared culture. In a nation with the diversity of cultural backgrounds due to ethnicity, immigration, regional differentiation, occupations, and classes, the significance that education has assumed will likely continue into the 21st century. In short, education has assumed more of the responsibility for transference of our cultural core.

What should be the cultural core in civic education in the 21st century? This is, of course, the key question that this conference is addressing and has been a focus of thought in recent years. Etzioni (1983a, 1983b, 1983c) centers his recommendations for education now and in the future on three key concepts fundamental to the role of the citizen in society: self-discipline, mutuality and civility. In order for there to

be learning and orderly public sphere interaction, self-discipline and its supportive elements is essential. Schools and society should not be concerned primarily with discipline but self-discipline, self-motivation and self-organization. As children enter schools with less of these characteristics than previous generations, schools must not eliminate structure; instead, structure must be organized in such a way that it engenders self-discipline. Successful schools, says Etzioni, are institutions, whether or not they are public or private, traditional or innovative, religious or secular, that have clear goals, high expectations and rules.

Comparing Etzioni's requirements to Boyer's (1983) Ridgefield High, where the margin of excellence was missing, it is possible to see that cultivation of self-discipline would help to accomplish Boyer's goals. These include the development of critical thinking skills and effective communication through the mastery of language, exposure of students to their heritage and social world, preparation of students for work and education, and recognition and fulfillment of civic responsibilities through school and community service. Other skills that need improvement as the nation approaches the 21st century, according to these writers, are critical thinking, increased reflectivity and public discourse skills. Clearly, these are skills essential for effective performance of rights and responsibilities of citizenship in the next century.

The Need for a Cultural Core

One of the skills needed for effective citizenship is awareness that contributes to the maintenance of cultural cohesiveness in American society. More socially and culturally differentiated than any other society in the world, the U.S. population is made up of ethnic groups, immigrants from every area of the world, different races, different regions within the country and a variety of objectively and subjectively defined classes. While there is no language monopoly and while historical tradition varies according to the perspective that one brings to its examination, a cultural core is needed for society. With the changes in the function of the family and the continued growth of religious divergence, only education as an institution in American society has the opportunity and responsibility to transmit this cultural core as one of the prerequisites for society.

While E.D. Hirsch (1987, 1988) has addressed this issue with more flamboyance and notoriety than comes to most discussions of the curriculum, his presentation has the appearance of the "American Culture List of Lists." Of course, Hirsch is sensitive to this criticism and spends the majority of his readers' time arguing that cultural literacy, or the shared knowledge of cultural elements central to effective functioning of members of society, must be taught in educational institutions. We cannot depend merely on teaching students how to learn but expect them to learn content as well. In fact, Hirsch argues, we cannot learn without content. It is a functional requisite of any

society that there not only be shared knowledge of values and norms, shared, mutual understandings of roles, but there must also be a shared knowledge base for decision-making and action. In other words, shared sets of cultural content and knowledge, as well as shared values, norms and reciprocal roles, are needed. Certainly the findings by Finn and Ravitch (1984) commissioned by the National Endowment for the Humanities, that two-thirds of seventeen year-olds cannot place the Civil War in the last half of the nineteenth century, that 75 percent do not know what reconstruction means and that less than half know the meaning of the Brown vs. Board of Education decision (Hirsch, 1987) are of deep concern and suggest that American youth are not being adequately educated to carry out the responsibilities of citizenship.

Sociology and the Cultural Core

Recently, it was reported (Sanoff, 1987) that large numbers of Americans cannot locate the Chesapeake Bay, some of the New England states, to say nothing of countries in East Africa or Asia. While this ignorance undermines global awareness, responsibility and action in the world, there is another level of ignorance which threatens this society and others. Research by two of the authors (Matlock and Short, 1983) has found a high level of ignorance of basic sociological concepts and findings in a national test survey of college students in introduction to sociology classes. Students who had not taken sociology in high school had an average score of 53 percent, while students who had high school sociology modestly improved their scores to 56

percent. The results show an appalling lack of knowledge of society and the conceptual tools for understanding it.

Although Hirsch (1987) has constructed a knowledge core for cultural literacy, it is lacking key social science concepts, many of which have been assimilated into popular culture. While the terms sociology, status, alienation, racism and sexism are included in Hirsch's list, other fundamental and widely shared concepts like ethnicity, minority, culture, role, norm, and anomie are missing. Just as importantly, concepts, like global citizen, community, cultural pluralism and tolerance, which are critical to an international perspective upon which effective citizenship in the 21st century is based, are not in Hirsch's list.

What price do we pay for such ignorance? Referring to the damage to the social world around us, Bellah and his colleagues (1985:284) write:

> And social ecology is damaged not only by war, genocide, and political repression. It is also damaged by the subtle ties that bind human beings to one another, leaving them frightened and alone. It has been evident for some time that unless we begin to repair the damage to our social ecology, we will destroy ourselves long before natural ecological disaster has time to be realized.

It is not just that the social world is damaged; it is that we are unaware of the links that form our social ecology, unaware of the substance of the social world, unaware of the tools of analysis that will help us to understand the social world and, therefore, unaware of the damage to the social world.

There are signs of the damage in the world around us: the homeless in every major city in the nation; the incredible rates

of increase in drug abuse among children in particular; the lack of a social consensus for how we should care for our children; the loneliness that the aged and isolated feel; the loss of jobs and industry to other countries. The list can go on. Knowledge of and familiarity with social science concepts that help us to understand the social nature of many of what appears to be private problems may be essential before the social world can be reconstructed.

From a sociological perspective, an absolute prerequisite for society to exist is a common, shared culture. The diversity of American society at present and the demographic projections for the next century make this requirement critical. As discussed above, the fertility rate for white females has declined to the level of just over one child per female of childbearing age, while the fertility rate for non-whites, especially hispanics, continues to rise (Bureau of the Census, 1985). For example, it is expected in Texas that by the year 2000, blacks and hispanics together will constitute a clear majority of the population (Davis et al., 1983; Lacayo, 1988). Presently in Texas, it is estimated that hispanics have a 45 percent dropout rate (Texas Department of Community Affairs, 1986). Unless steps are taken to re-integrate America's minorities into education, a growing segment of the national population will be unprepared and unlikely to participate in the nation's affairs. Without a shared culture, society itself may be threatened.

Ethnicity and Class

As Hannah Gray has pointed out in Agenda for the 21st Century (Kidder, 1987), a key question for the next century is whether or not the U.S. is a "melting pot or a salad bowl?" She believes, supported by most demographers, that there will be a massive change in the racial and ethnic mix of the nation. The U.S. will become increasingly a nation of people with Latin, Asian and African ancestry and less a nation of European, particularly British, ancestry. Problems of ethnic diversity, assimilation and accommodation have been with and preceded the founding of this nation. Some of the modes of addressing this problem have been discarded, e.g. slavery and segregation, but have left a strong legacy. The distribution of poverty, to some extent, reflects the historical pattern of ethnic relations in the U.S. Blacks, for example, still find themselves at a fraction of the income of whites, while blacks and hispanics disproportionately make up what has come to be known as the "underclass" (Auletta, 1983). Asians, on the other hand, almost irrespective of country of origin, have been making remarkable strides toward educational and economic success. Their only impediments have been the occasional efforts by other ethnic groups to limit their access to residence, citizenship, property, and education (Chira, 1988; New York Times, November 29, 1988).

Ethnic minorities in the U.S. represent unique challenges for citizenship education. First, by definition, minorities are groups who have experienced a systematic pattern of discrimination over generations which places them in an inferior

economic, political and educational position in relation to other groups (Wirth, 1945). They have experienced prejudice and must confront, unlike other groups, a negative definition of self both within and outside the community. Minority groups have developed a culture which internally provides support and protection for individuals, while externally protecting the group from additional loss. Second, while minority groups have evolved cultures which protect themselves from the most destructive effects of discrimination, they are cultures that are dependent on discrimination. Civic education in the 21st century may well have to include a significant component of what Auletta (1983) describes as life skills to break the internalized perceptions of inferiority and to prepare minority groups to assume positions of national and international leadership.

Poverty is not limited to ethnic minorities. The feminization of poverty (Cahan, 1985), resulting from the collapse of the family in all ethnic groups, means that children from single parent female families will be in an ideal position to join the underclass. Life skills education, which focuses on the mores of responsibility, discipline and honesty, what Bellah and his co-authors (1985) call "habits of the heart," may become an increasingly important prerequisite to civic education.

This may be too much of a task for civic education. We must be careful to avoid the pitfall most common to American democratic cultural reform: ask the schools to fix it. The levels of social change required for minority assimilation, the alleviation of poverty and an assault on the underclass exceed

what can be effectively accomplished in civic education. Nonetheless these contextual realities are relevant, since the level of social change necessary to attack the social and economic foundations of poverty and discrimination will profoundly effect the range of what can be accomplished in educating the youth of the 21st century. This is not the place to outline a fully articulated pattern of social reform to eliminate poverty and discrimination. In any event, it is prudent to predict that the poor and the victims of discrimination will be with us and that the schools will be asked to do the impossible: to teach prerequisite life skills, social conscience, and nature and processes of government.

SOCIAL TRENDS: VALUES, SELF AND COMMUNITY

Values and Community

Within the last decade two works on the quality of American life in particular have drawn the interest of academic and popular attention: Christopher Lasch's Haven in a Heartless World and Robert Bellah and colleagues' Habits of the Heart. Lasch's book focuses on the family and its simultaneous loss of function and authority and increasing responsibility for emotional gratification and sustenance of the individual in the larger society. The effects of industrialization and urbanization on the family have compounded the loss of familial authority and facilitated the assumption of responsibility by other institutions. Lasch believes that the erosion of authority in the family and the increasing dependence on the family for

emotional gratification have contributed to the loss of community and the increase in narcissism in society.

Through a series of unstructured interviews, Bellah and his colleagues produce a rich picture of American culture and society in transition. Central to the presentation is social realism, the view that individuals in their fullest sense are embedded in a social community. Contrasted with social realism is individualism, a value complex so much a part of American culture and society. Individualism includes the belief in the sacredness of the individual as well as expressive and utilitarian individualism. Expressive individualism is the belief that self-fulfillment should be accomplished by expressing the inner feelings that each person has, while utilitarian individualism is the focus on individual self-interest manifested most often in occupational success. They trace the collapse of community as a function of individualism and a loss of commitment to something beyond the expressive or utilitarian self. While traditions of self-fulfillment within communities exist, such as in the biblical and democratic traditions, these have lost their hold for many Americans. Instead they pursue occupational success which maximizes self, or a therapeutic ethic, which, when driven to its logical extreme, leaves the self exclusively responsible for its own pain and pleasure and for no one else. Instead of a culture of separation inherent in extreme individualism, Bellah and his colleagues want a culture of coherence based in social ecology, where individuals through voluntary associations join with others to create a community of interest for the public

good, such as social movements, like the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's.

On a different level, the re-emergence of the calling would permit us to see work as a means to serve the common good, not just the success or failure of the individual. As work becomes defined and rewarded in terms of the public good, rather than private gain, the invisible complexity of the privatized social world becomes visible. In other words, the social web will be obvious to its members, since they will be working together for the whole rather than competing against one another for private benefit. In such a culture of coherence, education would neither be for careerism or pragmatic gains, but rather for personal meaning and civic culture.

If Habits of the Heart misses any of the rich complexity of American society and culture, it may be in its assumption of a shared socio-economic position. In the voices of the interviews, one doesn't hear the Mexican-American in Texas or the Native American in South Dakota. The youth who constitute the recruits for the underclass are not there, nor are the ethnic subcultures that struggle for survival.

One strength of Habits of the Heart is that the authors make clear what their own value posture is; they reject the pursuit of an objective social science, embracing instead one that carries and reflects their values. In this sense, Habits of the Heart is normative and prescriptive. It offers a vision for the nation and a prescription to mend the anomie and alienation that permeate the social atmosphere. It challenges us to take a stand

in Camus' city of the plague and join with others to accomplish the public good.

Etzioni (1983a) also attacks the ethos of individualism that is at the root of our cultural values. He argues for a renewed awareness of our mutuality, an awareness of the essential nature of our dependence on another, the utter sterility of the life of a social isolate. Through a recommitment to mutuality and civility, the society has an opportunity to reorient itself. He specifically prescribes that the schools need to emphasize responsibility to the family. There needs to be heightened awareness of the character development function of schools. Work opportunities need to be provided for youth 16-18 years of age and the state should require a year of national service of all youth. While the call for mandatory national service mirrors earlier national debates about the draft and universal service, it suggests two critically important pedagogical points: learn by doing and responsibility through involvement. We believe these elements are critical to civic education in the 21st century.

Fluid Roles, Fluid Selves

Much concern has been expressed in recent works that youth in the 21st century will experience a high degree of anomie and detachment. This normlessness will be and is produced by a lack of identity in an age of service economics and new technologies. The society may become so complex and specialized that a sense of contact with the social world is lost. Civic education in the 21st century must convince the student early that he or she is

part of an interconnected system and that they must respond as responsible citizen in that system. Irene Taviss Thomson (1985:277-278) has stated:

> Other-directed man responds to the demands of a changing society by becoming flexible and sensitive to others. Faced with a new situations, he played new roles, even while his sense of self remained uncertain and not fully changed. The narcissist, having greater facility in role playing and more awareness of self, seeks to have his self match his role, and is willing to alter either or both as necessary. Thus, his identity becomes fluid and his roles lose their clear definition.

Individuals are experiencing a new sense of fluid role identity, where people can actually change identities throughout their lifetime. Roles move back and forth between the poles of "other" directedness (looking to others and other groups for your cues and approval) and "me" directedness (a type of self-centered orientation or perhaps even narcissism), with the individual not necessarily fixing roles at one pole or another. The sense of obligations found in previous generations is gone; commitments are a matter of individual choice.

It may be difficult to inculcate social control norms in this type of situation, when normative socialization <u>is</u> really a part of the self-concept viewed from the perspective of the general literature concerning socialization. Thomson argues that this new self-concept may be adaptive in some ways to rapidly changing social conditions. However, adaptive as this new changing sense of identity may be, it would seem to have the potential for heightening the loss of community, neighborhoods, and social networks.

There are clear problem implications in the area of civic responsibility. An individual feeling detached from community participation simply changes his or her role identity to adjust to this situation rather than seeking new attachments or feelings of community involvement. If the fluid role alternative is used in the future, the same degree of concern over the loss of associational networks that motivates today's involved adults will not occur. In the future, people may not care about participation or associational networks but adjust to living their lives in a spirit of structural alienation.

Today's college students are already reflecting attitudes of adjustment that support the fluid identity concept. One of the authors in assigning projects for a "writing intensive" introductory sociology course has been impressed by the number of students in a junior level college course who seem to feel that they have no group memberships. In most cases, these students actually belong to groups, but they do not understand the concept and meaning of group identity and membership. Obviously, one of the functions of a survey course in sociology is to acquaint student with the more technical aspects of groups and their functioning. What is amazing is that students seem to have no "common sense" or "street concept" concerning the nature of social groups. The concept of social group must be explained before students recognize that they do in fact belong to several rather loose knit social groups, such as the family, work group, and church. The idea of social interconnectedness seems foreign to some students who are already experiencing "anomie" and "fluid

identity." Students need to be appraised of the importance of their involvement in the social institutions both for themselves and for society.

DRUGS

Given that individualism and the pursuit of self-interest are cultural trends that are undermining the effective functioning of institutions in American society, drug and alcohol abuse and associated behaviors may represent the clearest expressions of destructive, self-interested behavior. By contrast, the current resurgence of drug condemnation by American communities may constitute one expression of public concern for the good. Drug abuse, on the one hand, is described by social scientists as a unique form of social deviance; one where the users are linked together by unique physical and emotional experiences induced by drugs and by the shared reality of doing something illegal (Becker, 1963; Hughes, 1961). Drug abusers are members of their own secret society or "fantastic lodge" (Hughes, 1961). On the other hand, drug abuse is the logical extension of the pursuit of self-interest, since the individual uses a drug for his own gratification. In extremely addictive cases, the individual becomes so obsessed with the drug that he sacrifices family, job, ambition and anything else for the drug.

Drugs represent the embodiment of self-interest as a threat to the public good. Initiation of drug use is beginning at earlier and earlier ages (White House Conference, 1988). In many areas of the country by fourth grade, a majority of children have experimented with alcohol and in some communities seven percent

of fourth graders regularly use inhalants. The proportions of users or the drugs of use may vary by community, but the reality is that a plague has infected American children. Most observers of the drug issue will agree that school children as a whole are at risk, although minority children (Watts and Wright, 1988), children of single parent homes and children in poverty are particularly at serious risk. It is uniformly recognized that drug use effects the child's ability to concentrate and is associated with the child's withdrawal from academic and other activities at school. Drug abuse, like poverty and racism, is part of the social context within which the content of civic education functions.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CIVIC EDUCATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

DEMOGRAPHIC CONTENT

Including demographic content in a civics course presents some unique problems. The most important issue concerns what not to do. Do not attempt to teach numbers. Do not, on the other hand, ignore numbers. It is impossible to do justice to demographic content without numbers, but do not make the numbers the focus of that component of the course. Make clear to the students from the first that they are not expected to memorize numbers. Perhaps they should remember one or two numbers, but not memorize them. Reasonably educated citizens of the United States should know approximately how many people there are in this country, and they should probably know approximately how many people there are in the world. They are, by definition, part of both populations.

Do not, however, insist on precise numbers. At present (October, 1988) it would be sufficient to know that the world population is slightly in excess of five billion people, and that the U.S. population is below 245 million (less than a quarter of a billion). There is no value in committing exact population figures to memory. If we know nothing else, and if the students learn nothing else, it should at least be that the numbers change.

To be sure other qualitative information should be presented, but this should be clearly identified as an illustration. The value of the numbers is to demonstrate trends and patterns, and that is how they should be used. If students can grasp the significance of demographic transition and how the dynamics of declining mortality and fertility yield a dramatic increase in population, it does not matter if they do not know the current death rate and birth rate.

A second issue is also related to numbers. While students need not be concerned with knowing the current birth and death rates, what about teachers? Demographic information is fluid, not static. How does one keep up? For most information, keeping up is not much of a problem. The demographic characteristics of any large population change slowly. There is a great deal of inertia. Teachers who are particularly interested in maintaining accurate data for their class preparation can easily acquire current information at nominal cost from such sources as the Population Reference Bureau in Washington, D.C.

One final issue should be addressed. A grasp of the dynamics of demographics can aid the civics student in understanding the forces which have shaped our nation and which will shape our future. Perhaps the greatest value, however, lies in communicating to the students and future citizens of our country that the United States does not exist in a vacuum. The future of our nation is inseparably tied to the conditions that exist and will exist in other countries around the world.

SCOPE OF CIVIC EDUCATION

In many states, like Texas, civic education examines government structure and processes at the state and federal levels. Some attention is given to the structure and functioning of local government including both county and city. Civic education of this scope for the majority of the 20th century is not inappropriate but may be shortsighted in the light of the global environment in which we live today. Today and in the 21st century, citizens will need to be informed of the global as well as national, state and local political environments that we share.

Economic and demographic shifts, such as the continued natural increase of population in the developing countries, the continued flow of migration into the U.S. and the low rate of natural increase ins some population segments in this country, reinforce the need for global awareness. The survival needs of other countries, which today are severely strapped for sufficient necessities, will increase. As a nation and a society, we are confronted with the need for action. Economically, we are

already highly dependent on other nations and societies for the effective and profitable functioning of our society. Much of the industry that used to prosper in this country has already either relocated to Asia or Latin America; others have lost their ability to compete due to management, primitive technology or labor costs. While Japan may be one of the U.S.'s most valuable trading partners, our children know little of that society's culture, language or political structure. The same point could be made, unfortunately, for many of our more traditional European or even North American trading partners.

There is at least one more crucial reason for global civic education. It is a truism that nuclear conflict will effect all of us on the globe if and when it occurs. While the nuclear powers may have a sufficient armament to deter nuclear strikes from one another, the threat of nuclear war still exists, whether due to a mechanical failure, nuclear terrorism, or nuclear extortion. In this context, efforts to resolve conflicts through the United Nations or other international organizations need to be understood for the hope that they represent. The most threatening alternative would be that students remain parochial in their vision and loyalty.

Students will need to be knowledgeable of certain international trends, such as population growth in the third world, the improved communications environment and urbanization (Carras, 1969). The prescriptions that Kachaturoff and Blackburn (1979) offered for global education that creates basic "international literacy" include knowledge of geographical and

social diversity in the world, values based on global perspectives, an understanding of global-level problems and possible solutions. Students will need to understand cultural pluralism, the differential practice of social justice in world society, and the interdependency of survival on the earth.

Recently, Foreign Minister Schevradnadze of the Soviet Union called for a reduction in emphasis on the class struggle as the driving force in Soviet foreign policy and increasing attention to the environment and the growth of market economy. Needless to say, his remarks drew fire from other Soviet leaders. Yet, recognition by a Soviet leader of the threat to the global ecology is a positive sign, an awareness that must be communicated to our civics students as well. We live not just in a nation which struggles with recovery from ecological damage but in a world which is experiencing a dangerous shift in the global environment. As the ozone layer develops more holes, global temperatures rise and the oceans redeposit the filth that we filled them with, the real dangers to the planet become more apparent (Boyer, 1984; Revelle, 1982; Toufexis, 1988). Civic education should engender a political, military and social sense of the world as a community.

PLURALISM AND CIVIC EDUCATION

While we live in a world that is shrinking due to faster, more available communication and transportation, the differences between cultural groups and societies are becoming more apparent. The fact of a shrinking world, of greater awareness and interaction with others is not, in and of itself, sufficient to

insure harmony. Within the U.S. alone, for example, prejudice and discrimination between ethnic groups has not been overcome simply with increased contact. In many cases, contact has resulted in more not less hostility (Cox, 1976; Vander Zanden, 1983; Noel, 1968; Toufexis, 1988). While we know that race and ethnic relations can improve with increased contact when the groups are in a relatively equal position of economic and political power (Cox, 1976; Vander Zanden, 1983; Noel, 1968), it may not be possible to create the conditions for such a rise to equality. In the American tradition, pluralism, as both an objective fact and a normatively prescribed mode of understanding and interacting in society, must lead civic education. Pluralism implies, of course, tolerance of difference. Whether that difference is within or outside of the country, ethnically, economically or socially based, respect for the values, norms and behaviors of other groups is critical to the maintenance of one's own community. Tolerance of difference does not mean denial but acceptance of difference in the other. The difference frequently serves to provide clearer and more substantive definition of what one's own culture is. Tolerance of difference is not enough. Tolerance is too passive, too limited and implies ghettoization. In the 21st century, we must celebrate difference, glorify, difference while simultaneously recognizing and reaffirming the basic American values of respect for the rights of others. Through a celebration of difference, as a nation, we can grow, continuing to add on to American culture elements of others that work.

At the public policy level, Berger and Neuhaus (1977) argue that it is critical for policy to foster and support "mediating structures," those groups and institutions which stand between the individual and the larger forces of public activity. By using mediating structures to form and carry out policy, the government supports rather than undermines the family and neighborhood. Maintenance and support for mediating structures makes possible the continued divisions in society that are the basis for pluralism. Cultural pluralism, in turn, makes possible a more complete awareness and interface with the world around us. Through cultural pluralism and its supportive mediating structures, we can see alternatives to problems, new problems are defined and people are empowered to achieve their goals. Civic education needs to encourage pluralism, perhaps by having students participate in some of their own mediating structures. By joining with their families, neighborhoods, churches and voluntary associations, students can become involved in the civic life of the community for the public good.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND THE SEARCH FOR COMMUNITY

Civic education is a structured opportunity for the educational system to support and enhance community and pluralism in American society. Adolescents are by definition in between their complete adult roles and childhood dependence. Through them, however, the society and its communities will or will not survive. Etzioni (1983a) and Boyer (1983), among other writers calling for reform of American education, suggest the requirement of community service for youth. Etzioni, in particular,

recommends a year. The civics course, particularly if its scope were expanded, could be an opportunity to initiate that community service.

There are a number of themes expressed in this paper that would be heightened by a period of service in the community. First, through involvement, youth would become active participants in the community organization and through that activity would get to experientially know the community. Not only would they know an organization through involvement, they would become part of the group. In other, words youth would become involved, become true members of the community through role performance. Second, by virtue of their involvement, youth would have the opportunity to experience belonging within the conventional community. Through membership, the sense of alienation and anomie that seems inevitably a part of adolescence could be lessened. Third, through membership, through participation in some community organization, youth would have the opportunity to experience working for the public good, for the good of others. Fourth, through their participation in a community organization, youth would interact with other groups. They would have an organizational sense of their place in the community. At this level, experiencing cultural difference and, through the organizational context, cultural pluralism, would be more meaningful than the abstract review of different ethnic or political groups in the classroom.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE: MAKING PRIVATE TROUBLES PUBLIC ISSUES

There are three implications of sociological knowledge for civic education that are addressed in this section. First, as argued earlier, sociological concepts serve as interpretative guideposts for both laypersons and professionals in making sense of the social world. In post-industrial society in particular, where the traditional sign-markers of social reality are less visible and useful, sociological concepts (as well as those of other social and behavioral sciences) serve to create conceptual order out of confusing information.

Second, as discussed in other places (Farmer, 1984; Short, Matlock and Watts, 1986; Short, Watts and Matlock, 1987), secondary teachers, including sociology secondary teachers, are not well trained in the meaning of sociological concepts or knowledge as measured by the number of hours of sociology college course work that they have taken or their own perception of qualifications to teach sociology. Workshops offered by professional associations for teachers may represent a faster alternative than extensive college coursework to insure that teachers of both high school sociology and civics have adequate knowledge.

Whatever the vehicle for improving teachers' sociological knowledge, there will have to be a reconceptualization of what is meant by social studies, including civic education (Switzer, 1986). Until the need for education in a common cultural core is recognized, until the need for a conceptual frame that analyzes social life in terms of roles, institutions and social processes,

and until the nation recognizes the critical importance of awareness of the web of social life, calling for increased teacher education in sociology may be futile.

The third but related sociological implication for civic education is what C. Wright Mills (1959) has identified as the key feature of the sociological imagination: making private troubles public issues. In this paper, a number of private troubles have been mentioned. They include divorce, single parenthood, poverty and drug abuse. The list could be more exhaustive: alcoholism, mental and physical illness, gender and race discrimination, homelessness, unemployment and loneliness for example. As each person confronts a problem alone or in some small group, such as the family, the dysfunctional elements of the problem can overwhelm the individual. Few families or individuals have the resources to overcome unemployment caused by plant closings or to deal with drug abuse on the scale with which it has affected the U.S. Many of us are in isolation from others who may struggle with these private troubles. However, the nature of the troubles which confront individuals today truly transcend an individual level of analysis; most private troubles need to be understood as overwhelmingly public issues. Issues concern the public and are grounded in the institutional structure of the society. As each person performs roles, that performance is within an institutional and social context. Resolution of difficulty, which each person experiences privately, can only be achieved by institutional adjustment and change accomplished by people working together.

Working on public issues for the public good, citizens can join together as a community to achieve social coherence, identity and purpose. The placement of students in service internships or work situations in the community may give them an early experience of involvement in public issues. Through community service, youth can participate in the process of culture and in the institutions of society, contributing to the creation of themselves as good citizens.

REFERENCES

Archdeacon, Thomas J. 1983. Becoming American: An Ethnic History. New York: The Free Press.

Alperovitz, Far and Jeff Fauz. 1984. Rebuilding America. New York: Pantheon Books.

Auletta, Ken. 1983. The Underclass. New York: The Free Press.

Bane, Marry Jo. 1976. Here to Stay: American Families in the Twentieth Century. New York: Basic Books.

Bauer, P.T. 1981. Equality, the Third World, and Economic Delusion. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Becker, Howard S. 1963. Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. New York: The Free Press.

Bellah, Robert N., Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swindler, and Steven M. Tipton. 1985. Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life. New York: Harper and Row.

Berger, Brigitte and Peter L. Berger. 1983. The War Over the Family: Capturing the Middle Ground. Garden City, NY: Anchor/Doubleday.

Berger, Peter L. and Richard John Neuhaus. 1977. To Empower People: The Role of Mediating Structure in Public Policy. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Bloom, Allan. 1987. The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Bouvier, Leon F. and Robert W. Gardner. 1986. "Immigration to the U.S.: The Unfinished Story." Population Bulletin, 41:(4)1-51.

Boyer, Ernest L. 1983. High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America. New York: Harper and Row.

Boyer, William. 1984.

Bureau of the Census. 1975. Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970. Washington, DC: United States Bureau of the Census.

_____. 1983. "Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1982." Washington, DC: Current Population Reports Series P-20, No. 380 (May).

_____. 1985. Statistical Abstract of the United States 1986. 106th Edition. Washington, D.C. United States Bureau of the Census.

Cahan, Vicky. 1985. "The Feminization of Poverty: More Women are Getting Poorer." Business Week. No. 2878 (January 28):84-85.

Carey, Max L. 1981. "On Occupational Employment Growth Through 1990." Monthly Labor Review. Vol. 104, No. 8 (August):42-55.

Carras, W. Gabriel. 1969. "Teaching Social Studies." In Education in the Twenty-first Century, edited by Herbert London and Arnold Spinner. Danville: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc.

Chira, Susan. 1988. "U.S. Currency Policy Speeds Japan in Vast Economic Role." The New York Times. (November 28, 1988).

Cox, Oliver C. 1976. Race Relations: Elements and Social Dynamics. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Cuber, John F., Martha Tyler John, and Kenneth S. Thompson. 1975. "Should Traditional Sex Modes and Values Be Changed?" in Controversial Issues in the Social Studies. Raymond H. Beussig (ed.). Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies:87-121.

Davis, Cary, Carl Haub, and Joanne Willette. 1983. U.S. Hispanics: Changing the Face of America. Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau.

Diebold, John. 1985. Making the Future Work. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Eshleman, J. Ross. 1986. "Sociology: From Theory to Social Action." Pp. 111-123 in Social Studies and Social Sciences: A Fifty Year Perspective, edited by Stanley T. Wrouski and Donald H. Bragow. Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies.

Etzioni, Amitai. 1983a. An Immodest Agenda: Rebuilding America Before the Twenty-first Century. New York: McGraw-Hill.

_____. 1983b. "To Improve Schools, Teachers Must Lead Children in a New Direction." Learning, VII(7):42-45.

_____. 1983c. "Restructuring the Schools: A Set of Solutions." Learning, VII(8):86-87, 92-93.

Farmer, Rod. 1984. "The Social Studies Teacher in the 80's: Report from a National Survey." The Social Studies 75(July/August):166-171.

Finn, Chester E., Jr., Diane Ravitch, and Robert T. Fancher. 1984. Against Mediocrity: The Humanities in America's High Schools. New York: Holmes and Meier.

Fitzgerald, Frances. 1986. Cities on a Hill. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Gordon, Michael. 1983. The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective. 3rd Edition. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Gray, Hannah H. 1987. Agenda for the 21st Century, edited by Rushworth M. Kidder. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Greenwald, John. 1988. "Japan: From Superrich to Superpower." Time. (July 4):28-31.

Gusfield, Joseph R. 1972. "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change." American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 72, No. 4 (January):351-362.

Haub, Carl and Mary Mederios Kent. 1988. World Population Data Sheet. Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau, Inc.

Hendry, Peter. 1988. "Food and Population: Beyond Five Billion." Population Bulletin, 43: (No. 2), 1-40.

Hirsch, E.D., Jr. 1988. Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know. New York: Random House.

Hughes, Helen M. 1961. The Fantastic Lodge: The Autobiography of a Drug Addict. New York: Fawcett.

Hughes, Helen MacGill, ed. 1963. The Fantastic Lodge: The Autobiography of a Girl Drug Addict. Greenwich: Fawcitt Publications, Inc.

Kachaturoff, Grace and Guy Blackburn, eds. 1978. Education for Global Consciousness: Social Studies for Responsible Citizenship. Danville: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc.

Kidder, Rushworth M., ed. 1987. An Agenda for the 21st Century. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Lacayo, Richard. 1988. "A Surging New Spirit." Time. (July 11):46-49.

Lasch, Christopher. 1977. Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Laslett, Peter. 1977. "Characteristics of the Western Family Considered Over Time." Journal of Family History 2:2, 89-115.

Madsen, Axel. 1980. Private Power: Multinational Corporations for the Survival of Our Planet. New York: William Morrow.

McLuhan, Marshall. 1967. The Medium is the Message. New York: Random House.

Mehlinger, Howard D. 1977. "The Crisis in Civic Education." Pp. 69-82 in Education for Responsible Citizenship: The Report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education, edited by B. Frank Brown. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Mills, C. Wright. 1959. The Sociological Imagination. New York: Grove Press.

Naisbitt, John. 1982. Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives. New York: Warner Books.

National Center for Health Statistics. 1987. Monthly Vital Statistics Report. Vol. 35, No. 12 (April 2).

"A National Social Agenda for America's Families." 1988. Social Agenda for the National Association of Social Workers (NASW).

Noel, Don. 1968. "The Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification." Social Problems. 16:157-172.

Park, Robert E., Ernest W. Burgess and Robert D. Mackenzie, eds. 1925. The City. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Population Reference Bureau. 1986a. Population in Perspective: Regional Views. Washington DC: Population Reference Bureau, Inc.

_____. 1986b "Immigration Seen Transforming U.S." Population Today, 14:(11)3.

Reischauer, Edwin O. 1973. Toward the 21st Century: Education for a Changing World. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Repetto, Robert. 1987. "Population Resources, Environment: An Uncertain Future." Population Bulletin, 42: (No. 2)1-44.

Repetto, Robert and Thomas Holmes. 1983. "The Role of Population in Resource Depletion." Population and Development Review, 9: 609-32.

Revelle, Roger. 1982. "Resources." in Just Faaland (ed.). Population and the World Economy in the 21st Century. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Sanoff, Alvin P. 1987. "What Americans Should Know." U.S. News and World Report. (September 28):86-94.

Short, Alvin P. and Donald T. Matlock. 1983. "The Impact of High School Sociology: Some Preliminary Test Results from the College Introductory Course." Teaching Sociology 10(4)505-516.

Singlemann, Joachim. 1978. From Agriculture to Services: The Transformation of Industrial Employment. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Switzer, Thomas J. 1986. "Teaching Sociology in K-12 Classrooms." Pp. 124-138 in Social Studies and Social Sciences: A Fifty Year Perspective, edited by Stanley T. Wrouski and Donald H. Bragow. Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies.

Texas Department of Community Affairs. 1986. Texas School Dropout Survey. Austin: Texas Department of Community Affairs.

Thomson, Irene Taviss. 1985. "From Other-Direction to the Me Decade: The Development of Fluid Identities and Personal Role Definitions." Sociological Inquiry, 3:274-290.

Thornton, Arland and Deborah Freedman. 1982. "Changing Attitudes Toward Marriage and Single Life." Family Planning Perspectives 14(November/December):297-303.

Toffler, Alvin. 1981. The Third Wave. New York: Bantam Books.

Tonnies, Ferdinand. 1983. "Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft." Pp. 2-6 in New Perspectives on the American Community, edited by Roland L. Warren and Larry Lyon. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.

Toufexis, Anastasia. 1988. "The Dirty Seas." Time. (August 1):44-50.

Vander Zanden, James W. 1983. American Minority Relations. 4th Edition. New York: Knopf.

Watts, W. David and Loyd S. Wright. 1988. Antecedents and Consequences of Adolescent Hispanic and Mexican-American Drug Abuse and Serious Delinquency: Comparisons and Contrasts. A report to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Washington, DC.

White House Conference. 1988. The White House Conference for a Drug Free America: Final Report. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Wirth, Louis. 1945. "The Problem of Minority Groups" in R. Linton (ed.). The Science of Man in the World Crisis. New York: Columbia University Press.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Message to the 21st Century, October 23-25, 1984, Tokyo, Japan. 1984. The Symposium Secretariat, The Asahi Shimbun. Japan: Asahi Evening News.

A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century -- The Report of the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. 1986. Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. New York: Carnegie Corporation, May.

Almack, John C. 1924. Education for Citizenship. Cambridge: The Riverside Press.

Bell, Daniel. 1973. The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Bianchi, Suzanne M. and Daphne Spain. 1986. American Women in Transition. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Boserup, Ester. 1981. Population and Technological Change. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Boucher, Wayne I. 1977. "Attitudes Toward Forecasting in Political Science and Sociology: A Comment on Social Forecasting." The Study of the Future: An Agenda for Research. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, July.

Boulding, Kenneth. 1982. "International Economic Relations." Population and the World Economy in the 21st Century, edited by Just Faaland. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Boyer, William H. 1984. America's Future: Transition to the 21st Century. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Briggs, Vernon M., Jr. 1984. Immigration Policy and the American Labor Force. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Cetron, Marvin and Thomas O'Toole. 1982. Encounters with the Future: A Forecast of Life into the 21st Century. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Coleman, James S. 1966. Equality of Educational Opportunity. New York: Arno Press.

_____. 1979. Equality of Educational Opportunity Supplemental Appendix. New York: Arno Press.

_____. 1968. The Evaluation of Equality of Educational Opportunity. Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, August.

Cook, Earl. 1976. "Limits to Exploitation Natural Resources." Science, 191: (February 20), 677-82.

Davis, Cary, Carl Haub and JoAnne Willette. 1983. "U.S. Hispanics: Changing the Face of America." Population Bulletin, Vol. 38, No. 3.

Educating Americans for the 21st Century. 1983. Washington, DC: The National Science Board Commission on Precollege Education in Mathematics, Science and Technology.

Goeller, H. E. and Alvin M. Weinberg. 1976. "The Age of Substitutability." Science, 191: (February 20), 683-88.

Harris, Marvin and Eric B. Ross. 1987. Death, Sex and Fertility: Population Regulation in Preindustrial and Developing Societies. New York: Columbia University Press.

Massey, Douglas S. 1981. "Dimensions of the New Immigration to the United States and the Prospects for Assimilation." Annual Review of Sociology, 7: 57-85.

Menken, Jane. 1986. World Population and U.S. Policy: The Choices Ahead. New York: W. W. Norton.

Petersen, William. 1972. Readings in Population. New York: MacMillian.

Repetto, Robert. 1986. World Enough and Time: Successful Strategies for Resource Management. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Salas, Rafael M. 1987. The State of World Population 1987. New York: United Nations Fund for Population Activities.

Short, Alvin P. and Donald T. Matlock. 1983. "High School Sociology: Some General Reflections Based on a Recent National Sample." Teaching Sociology, August.

_____. 1982. "Sociology Programs in U.S. High Schools: Current Findings with a National Sample." Teaching Sociology 9(3):313-322.

U.S. Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy. 1981. U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest: Staff Report and Final Report. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Wellman, Barry and Barry Leighton. 1983. "Networks, Neighborhoods, and Communities: Approaches to the Study of the Community Question." Pp. 246-262 in New Perspectives on the American Community, edited by Roland L. Warren and Larry Lyon. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.

World Bank. 1986. Poverty and Hunger: Issues and Options for Food Security in Developing Countries. Washington, DC: World Bank.